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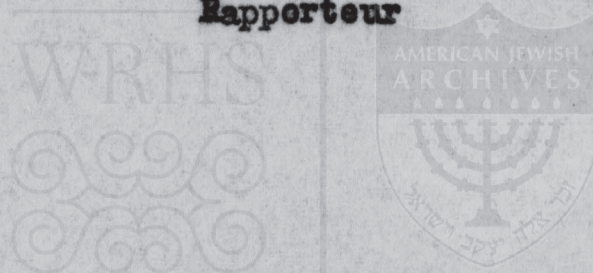


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STUDIES OF
AMERICAN INTERESTS IN THE WAR AND THE PEACE

Territorial Series

Isaiah Bowman
Rapporteur



Memorandum on:

THE NEW ZIONISM AND A POLICY FOR THE UNITED STATES

October 19, 1943

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

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45 East 65th Street, New York

October 19, 1943

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THE NEW ZIONISM AND A POLICY FOR THE UNITED STATES

Prepared by William L. Westermann

During the week of August 30 to September 4, 1943, a gathering of 500 delegates selected from all the major Jewish organizations of the United States, and called the American Jewish Conference, met at the Waldorf Astoria in New York City. This Conference was intended to be the supreme effort to unify the conflicting claims and attitudes of all the Jewish-American groups interested in the general Zionist plans respecting Palestine. The question of the social expression of anti-Semitism in the United States and the possibilities of its crystallization into a serious opposition to the Jews of this country played no important role in these deliberations. Evidently it was believed that this problem had not become acute in the United States.

The conclusions reached by this Conference took the form of a resolution demanding, first, that the United Nations give their support to the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, under an interpretation of its meaning which would "reconstitute Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth." A second demand was that the restrictions imposed by the White Paper of May 1939 upon Jewish immigration into Palestine be removed, and that "the gates of Palestine" be opened. Complete control of Jewish immigration was to be vested in the Jewish Agency. One of the purposes underlying these demands was to furnish a place of refuge for the remaining Jews of Europe who can still be saved. A second object was to attain eventually a Jewish majority in Palestine as the basis for a Jewish Commonwealth.

As a procedure aiming at the unification of the different Zionist claims and at the elimination of anti-Zionist opposition in the United States this Conference of 500 delegates was not so successful as the resolution passed by a close to unanimous vote of the assembled delegates, would indicate. Upon the first day of this meeting a so-called "American Council for Judaism" met in Philadelphia. More than 100 delegates appeared, representing twenty-eight states of the Union. Of these delegates twenty-eight were Rabbis of the Reform Jewish faith, eighty-six were laymen. Zionist sources give the number of the members of the Reform Jewish congregations in the United States at 55,000. The anti-Zionist Rabbis of the Reform group are said by the Zionists to be in the minority among the Reform congregations.

The resolutions adopted by this Council opposed all nationalist Jewish philosophies (which would include Zionism) as obsolete and even harmful in the Jewish world. The Council expressed its objection to the futile attempt made at the end of the First World War to protect the European Jews under the general blanket of the protection of minorities. It registered clearly its opposition to any plan for the establishment of a Jewish State, or Jewish Commonwealth, either in Palestine or elsewhere in the world. The attitude assumed by the Council was that the demand for Jewish statehood had been detrimental, in general, to the work of saving the Jews of Europe, and especially harmful to the refugee movement as directed toward Palestine itself. The Council voted for a concentration of Jewish effort upon the cultural preservation and religious unity of Jewish ideals throughout the world.

The general attitude of this small group of anti-Zionists is based more strongly upon religious than upon secular convictions. They believe in the dispersion as a part of the divine purpose respecting the Jews and as an integral part of modern Jewish life.*

Even at the meeting of the Conference in New York City, some opposition to the majority decision was registered in the acceptance for the record of an opposing resolution presented by Judge Proskauer. A few of the members who had attended the meeting of the Council for Judaism at Philadelphia also participated in the Conference at New York City; but they registered no minority protest against the majority decisions.

A second defection from the desired unity of the Zionist organization took place on October 24 when the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee, led by Judge Proskauer, resigned from the American Jewish Conference. This Committee based its action in resigning upon the conviction that, by so doing, it was working "in the best interests of Jews in this and other countries including Palestine." This action is quite in line with the Proskauer resolution presented during the week of the meetings of the American Jewish Conference.**

The active opposition among American Jews to the Zionist program apparent in the facts just stated suggests that the Zionist organizations are not truly representative of Jewish opinion in the United States. The possibility seem very definitely borne out by a study of public opinion upon the subject of Zionism as measured by newspaper space allotted to that topic in newspapers having a large circulation in the Borough of the Bronx in New York City, an area which probably contains the largest concentration of middle-class and intellectual Jews to be found anywhere. This study, which with other pertinent materials is appended hereto (Appendix I), indicates at best a high degree of apathy toward Zionism among American Jews.

* Jewish Post-War Problems, unit VI (Palestine in the New World, 1943), pp. 26-28.

** New York Times, October 25, 1943, p.17.

The constant pressure which has been exerted by the Zionist organizations for the past three years upon both the executive and the legislative branches of the government of the United States has been greatly increased since the American Jewish Conference. Their justified demand that everything possible be done to save the remaining Jews of Europe is now coupled with an insistence upon some statement in favor of the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine.* This increased Zionist pressure suggests that the time is appropriate for a brief analysis of the present Zionist goal and an attempt to ascertain the strength of its appeal to the Jewish citizen body in the United States. Upon this basis a policy might be suggested embracing acceptance of some features of the resolutions passed at the recent New York Conference and resistance to those decisions which may be dangerous to world Jewry, to the welfare of the Jewish citizens of the United States, to the general cause of world peace, and most of all to the successful achievements in Palestine of the Jews who have gone there.

Conclusions

1. The solution sought by the Zionists, of forming Palestine into a Jewish State, seems totally unrealistic if one correctly evaluates the present elements which are favorable and those which are unfavorable to this effort.

2. The Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, has been hailed by the Zionists and by many prominent non-Jewish statesmen as a great and important historical document. It has, in fact, already contributed greatly in material ways to the welfare of Palestine itself through the development of Palestine by subsidization from European and American Jewish sources. From the point of view of peace in the Near East it had also done much harm by injecting into the entire Near East racial opposition to the Jews who have migrated into Palestine. Only time and patient and statesmanlike guidance can now diminish the hatreds which have been aroused there in the train of the Balfour Declaration even in its limited original goal of a Jewish homeland.

3. Except for one badly authenticated, possibly inadvertent,

* Since these lines were written Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, has published the terms of an appeal to the government of the United States for support for the Jewish Commonwealth (New York World Telegram, October 4, 1943). See also the display advertisement in the New York Times of October 5, 1943, by the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe. The central "Petition" is addressed to the executive and legislative branches of the government. Some 300 Rabbis appeared in Washington on October 6, and presented a petition to Vice-President Wallace regarding the Jewish Commonwealth.

statement by President Woodrow Wilson,** no responsible representative of the executive Branch of the government of the United States has, so far as my information goes, officially expressed any view which goes beyond the Jewish national homeland of the Balfour Declaration. The present attitude of the government of the United States toward the Zionist problem is embodied in the declaration of the Secretary of State, Mr. Hull, which was released to the press on October 31, 1942. (As there expressed it is fairly analogous to the Proskauer resolution presented at the Conference which recently met in New York City).

4. Any valid proposal for the immediate rescue of the remaining Jews in Nazi-ruled Europe is, no doubt, receiving every possible support from the government of the United States. Without question, this support should and will be maintained.

5. It would be improper, and even dangerous to the unity of the United Nations, for the government of the United States to advocate the abandonment by the British government of its decision (embodied in the McDonald White Paper of May 17, 1939) to put an end to Jewish immigration into Palestine in 1944 "unless the Arabs of Palestine are prepared to acquiesce in it." Technically, and from the standpoint of knowledge of the complexities involved, decision upon this point is purely the business of the mandatory power over Palestine.

I. The Balfour Declaration and the Peace Conference at Paris

It should be remembered that the Balfour Declaration promised to the Jews of the world nothing more than a homeland in Palestine and that it committed the British government only to the support of that intention. It makes no statement of a future possibility that Palestine should become a Jewish State. The Zionists are correct, however, in their assertion that the Declaration and the mandate contain an "inner contradiction" in pledging the British Government to preserve the interests of the Arab majority living in Palestine while promising its support to the idea of the Jewish homeland. (See Salo Baron, Social and Religious History of the Jews, and his article in the Contemporary Jewish Record, July-August, 1940, p.365.) The history of Palestine since 1920 seems to have proven that the two ideas are not compatible.

Perhaps the majority of the fervent Zionists would agree that the chief importance of Palestinian Zionism is its potential psychological results upon the Jews, both in Europe and in the United States. The Jews claim that they have suffered from the fact that they have no country to which they may look as their own. They are a people without a home. The Greeks, scattered through the world, can look to, and take pride in, a Greek Homeland. The Norwegians, the Swedes, the Danes, even the Scots and

** In The Truth about the Peace Treaties, vol. II, p.1139, David Lloyd-George quotes a statement of President Wilson to the effect that he was persuaded that "in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth." This is requoted in Jewish Post-War Problems, unit VI, p.55, I cannot locate the source of this quotation and have never seen it elsewhere.

Welsh, can look to an independent country of their own or to an autonomous unit in a larger complex of which they can feel that they are members. This privilege, according to the Zionist view, has been denied the Jews since the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in the first century after Christ.

Had the Jews been able to accept the offer made by the British government in 1902 that they find a homeland in Uganda in Africa, or could the Jews of Russia have accepted wholeheartedly the recent Russian offer of a Jewish State south of the Amur River in Birobidjan, the problem of a Jewish homeland might have been put upon a different basis. Palestinian Zionism is rooted in its ancient religious connotations for most sincerely religious Jews as the land promised by ~~Mahwe~~ ^{Moses} to the Jewish people. From the outset, therefore, to many Orthodox Jews Zionism has taken on the form of a Messianic nationalism, with a distinct touch of mysticism about it.

In the United States, Justice Louis Brandeis had, by the year 1916, become a thoroughly convinced believer in Zionism, although he had started out in direct opposition to it. Because of its official acceptance by President Wilson, under the influence of Justice Brandeis, Zionism was not a problem which warranted discussion by the American advisers of President Wilson at Paris. The support of Zionism expressed since that time by the successors of Mr. Wilson in his high office has never gone beyond a general approval and acceptance of the Balfour Declaration. The official American attitude toward the Zionist problem has, therefore, been a consistent one for a quarter of a century.

II. The Development of the Zionist Claims with Respect to Palestine.

From the outset Zionism was international in its appeal because the Jews were a diaspora people scattered among the nations of the world. The Zionist leaders of 1919 at Paris, whatever their hopes may have been, carefully refrained from making any claim that a Jewish State must ultimately arise in Palestine. At present this is the outspoken goal of the American Zionists as it is clearly stated in the resolutions recently adopted by the American Jewish Conference. As the population figures still stand, after twenty-three years of Zionist effort and the expenditure of \$500,000,000 in subsidizing that effort, the demand that Palestine be a Jewish Commonwealth still runs counter to all accepted views of majority rights in any state. The Zionists meet this obvious objection to their claims with the statement of their superiority to the Arabs of Palestine and the assertion that they already have become the most advanced and modern element in the Palestinian population.

At the Paris Peace Conference the Arab opposition to the Zionist claims appeared in the guise of a "Palestine for the Palestinians" movement. As the title shows, this Arab antagonism began as a small regional and localized expression of a fear of the increase of Jewish power in a land where the Jews were, at that time, merely an accepted small minority. The British government was, of course, committed to the Jewish homeland project. Privately the British group at the Paris Peace Conference was lukewarm, at the most, whatever its public attitude seemed to be. Officially the attitude of the French government was pro-Zionist, or at least not outspokenly opposed. Actually the French desire for the mandate over Syria dictated its policy which

was one of marked sympathy for the Arab, non-Zionist, point of view in Palestine.

The history of Zionist-Arab relations in the Near East has, since 1919, been one of a constant hardening of the local Arab opposition to Zionism in Palestine and constant widening, in the Arab-speaking world, of the real extent of anti-Zionist feeling. It has, in fact, become an outstanding factor in the development of a consciousness of Arab solidarity--witness: (1) the general sympathy and support in the Arab world of the Arab boycott of the mandatory power in Palestine in 1936; (2) the unexpected strength developed in the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem; (3) the anti-Jewish aspects of the Ali-al-Gailani revolt in Iraq, which amounted to a characteristic pogrom; (4) the stand recently taken against the Zionist claims by King Ibn Saud of Arabia.*

III. The Possibility of Population Movement in Palestine in the Coming Decades.

A careful statistical study made by Rita Hinden, a British sociologist, ** has shown that the true rate of natural increase of the Arabs of Palestine as compared with that of the Jews is 21.4 against 10.9 per 1,000. The difference is explained by the much higher birth rate among the Arabs but takes into consideration the much lower infant mortality for the Palestinian Jews. Even after this adjustment, the constant increase in the Arab population is undoubted. The conclusion of the article, based upon the fertility and mortality figures of the year 1931 and an assumption that the rate will continue, is this: When immigration into Palestine ceases, the percentage of the Jewish population will begin to fall in comparison with the Arab population. As envisaged, in terms of decades, the population trend will slowly begin to be anti-Jewish after 1970, even on the premise that the average rate of Jewish immigration into Palestine of the past twenty years is to be maintained. This also leaves out of consideration any possibility of Arab immigration into Palestine in the coming years. (See Appendix II.)

The only way of maintaining parity between Jewish and Arab populations in Palestine, if this were once established, would be: to raise the Arab standard of life considerably; to lower the Jewish standard of life; or to attempt to establish an equality by lowering the one and raising the other. In any of these cases the Zionist claim to leadership in the country, as based upon the superiorities deriving from a higher cultural standard, must in the long run be seriously impaired.

* See the May 31, 1943, issue of Life, p.88.

** "Fertility and Mortality of the Population of Palestine" in the Sociological Review, vol. XXXII (1940), pp.29-49. The graph accompanying this report was prepared independently by a statistical expert. It is confirmed, on the whole, by the similar graph in the Palestine Royal Commission Report of 1937, p.281, which was not used in formulating the graph presented here as Appendix II.

IV. Recommendations

It is surely an unwarranted accusation that the government of the United States has not done, and will not continue to do, everything in its power to remove the remaining Jews of Europe from the cold-blooded and systematic savagery which Hitlerian Germany has practiced there. In the furtherance of that purpose the problem of the salvation of European Jewry must come first. It should not be confined within the narrow scope of the political framework of Zionist plans for Palestine, idealistic as these may be to their fervent believers. Plans for a Jewish State of Palestine should not be accepted as the sole Jewish refugee solution.

Immediate Policy

It is recommended as an immediate policy:

- 1) That the government continue to make every effort to further the escape of Jews from Europe and to obtain for them admission to Palestine, so far as the mandatory power permits.
- 2) That temporary refuge, at least, in the United States be offered to those who wish to come here, making whatever special concessions in our immigration quota laws may be necessary.
- 3) That all other countries now free of Nazi domination (Spain, Portugal, North Africa, the South American states, Canada, Australia, and Great Britain) also be encouraged to receive any Jewish refugees from Europe who may desire to enter them.

Long-Range Plans

In the formulation of a long-range policy upon the Jewish problem political considerations, particularly those which tend to further a long period of world peace, must have precedence. Common sense urges that, in the long run, the wishes of 21,000,000 Arabs, united on the point of opposition to Zionism, must weigh heavily in the scales of political realism against the "Zionist" (as opposed to "Jewish") desire for a Commonwealth in Palestine. This is particularly true since the belief in the Zionist political doctrine has not obtained majority support of Jews in the United States and does not have any noteworthy backing among non-Jewish Americans.

It is, therefore, recommended as a long-range policy:

- 1) That the executive branch of the government support the non-Zionist Jewish desire to see Jewish life rehabilitated in Europe itself after the war.* How many European Jews will wish to stay in the places of

* The non-Zionist position upon this point is set forth briefly, but in a thoroughly unbiased and realistic manner, in Jewish Post-War Problems, unit VI (Palestine in the New World), pp. 36-37.

of their origin, or go back to these countries, is as yet anybody's guess. According to Memorandum EN-C8 of the Peace Aims Series, p.5, only a few of the Jews of good social status would return even to a philo-Semitic democratic Germany, but some Jewish leaders in the German labor movement definitely plan to return after the war. The Zionist belief that the number will be few is based upon a defeatism, thoroughly understandable in their case, as to the nature and completeness of the victory over Nazi Germany and the amelioration of anti-Jewish feeling.

2) That the decision of Great Britain, the mandatory power in Palestine, in respect to future Jewish immigration into Palestine should be respected. It is pragmatic--based upon experience and a thorough understanding of the complex problem of the political rights and wrongs involved in the situation in the Near East. X

3) That the Department of State continue to follow the Balfour Declaration in its strict interpretation, as offering a "national home" to the Jewish people, without prejudice to the "civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine."* The demands of the "Biltmore Resolution" that the Jewish Agency be vested with control of immigration into Palestine" and that "Palestine be established as a Jewish Commonwealth" should not be supported.



* See Jewish Post-War Problems, unit VI, pp. 61-62, for a copy of this "Biltmore Resolution."

Appendix I

An Attempt to Estimate the Degree of Support for Zionism
in the United States

At the meeting of the American Jewish Conference the following assumptions and assertions were made by various delegates. These were not challenged from the floor:

- 1) That the Zionist policies were originally initiated by world opinion. (This assertion is made in the Resolutions passed by the Conference.)
- 2) That the Jewish opponents of Zionism were sabotaging the collective Jewish will. (Presumably this refers to the collective will of American Jewish citizens.)
- 3) That the Resolutions as adopted by the Conference spoke in the name of the Jewish people.

A method is here attempted of testing the implication that support of the Zionist program is widespread in the United States, which is one of the two important areas of Jewish population remaining in the world. In that area, New York City represents the greatest localized concentration of Jews which still exists. In this restricted area of New York City, the Borough of the Bronx probably has the greatest absolute number of middle-class and intellectual Jews which can be found anywhere.

The method employed in making the test of American interest in the cause of Zionism was to take five New York City papers and count the columns devoted to certain types of news, including the columns of editorial and other political comment, during the week of the American Jewish Conference (August 30-September 4). Against this was placed the number of columns dealing with the Conference, day by day. The numerical results are given in the tables appended to this report.

The relative space given to Zionist affairs in these papers is presented here in percentages, roughly computed. The newspapers follow in the order of their circulation figures (daily, not Sunday) in Bronx Borough:

Percentage of News Space Given to Zionism

	<u>Daily News</u>	<u>Mirror</u>	<u>Journal-American</u>	<u>Times</u>	<u>Herald Tribune</u>
Aug. 30 (Monday)	0.5%	3.3%	4. %	6.4%	2½%
31	1.4	0	2.9	5.	2.6
Sept. 1	0	0	1.8	5.	1.7
2	6.2 *	0	2.7	4.	1.6
3	1.6	0	1.2	1.5	1.8
4 (Sat.)	0	0	0	2.1	1.6

* This abnormal figure is explained in a note to Table A

To establish a frame of reference for this week of abnormal New York City interest in Zionism a test was taken of the amount of space given to Zionism, including all news from Palestine, during the week of May 30-June 5, 1943. This particular week was chosen because there was no Zionist conference going on anywhere and no political activity was reported which would force Palestinian and Zionist news into the background of interest. The New York Times alone made any reference to either of these subjects during that week, and only to the extent of 1.1% of the internal and foreign political news which it carried during the week, (See Table B.)

In drawing conclusions from the above table we proceed on the assumption that the proportion of space given to the Conference reflects in each case the city editor's judgment of its news value, and that city editors are persons with special knowledge in this field, whose judgment deserves respect. Upon this assumption, the indication of the figures is that the lower ranges of Jewish intelligence in the metropolitan area, as represented by the picture-pulp papers, actually display little interest in Zionist affairs. The New York Times may certainly be taken as representing a newspaper appeal to the upper-case Jewish intelligence of the metropolis. Its daily circulation in the Bronx is less than one-quarter of that of the paper of the highest circulation, namely the Daily News. Even so, the Times's circulation is exaggerated by the fact that its stock reports are used widely in the Bronx as the basis for the lottery commonly called the "numbers racket." Its daily circulation of about 50,000 must, therefore, be reduced by a considerable number of copies bought for checking the numbers lottery and immediately disposed of without reading.

The conclusions derived from the appended tables may be checked with a rough estimate of the attitudes of the group of intellectual Jews in the acquaintance of any person who may be interested. Within the rather wide experience of the writer with intellectual American Jews the relations of fervent interest in Zionism, half-hearted support, and outright opposition stands about as follows: fervent Zionists, about 7; "sympathetic," but really lukewarm or indifferent, about 10; outright opponents, about 10. A different estimate comes from the University of Illinois. A competent observer there reports that among his Jewish friends in Urbana none shows indifference on the question. When asked to state their position on the proposal for a Jewish national home in Palestine on the lines of the Balfour Declaration (not the political proposal of a Jewish Commonwealth), 8 were found in favor and 6 against.

The lack of interest in Zionism displayed by the appended newspaper analysis is supported by a professional newspaper analysis of American opinion. The Weekly Analysis of Newspaper Opinion has the disadvantage, for the investigation here attempted, that it considers only the front-page news and the editorial pages of the newspapers selected as the basis of the survey. For the week ending September 4, 1943, it states that there was little comment in American newspapers upon the Conference. What comment there was featured the destruction of millions of Jews under Hitler, called attention to the American Jewish Conference, and urged various

types of action which might be considered or might be taken to aid the Jews after the war. Some of the suggestions were: (1) that the Jewish refugees should be permitted to go to Palestine; (2) that they should be welcomed in the United States; (3) that they should be allowed to return to the places of their origin after the conclusion of the war. The Weekly Analysis states that there is no significant emphasis upon any of these points. In other words, general American newspaper comment did not regard the necessity of establishing a Jewish State in Palestine as an element to be employed in solving the Jewish problem of today.



Table A

Relative news space given to the American Jewish Conference (August 30-September 4) in five New York newspapers.

Editorial pages and other political and letter comment were included. The radio, theater, and sports pages, market reports, book reviews and pages of obituary were omitted from the enumeration in all the tests.

In the tables, TNC - total newspaper columns; SJC - space given to the Jewish Conference.

		<u>Daily News</u> 235,419#		<u>Mirror</u> 90,098#		<u>Jnl. Amer.</u> est.80,000		<u>N.Y. Times</u> 50,556#		<u>Herl Trib.</u> 18,586#	
		<u>TNC</u>	<u>SJC</u>	<u>TNC</u>	<u>SJC</u>	<u>TNC</u>	<u>SJC</u>	<u>TNC</u>	<u>SJC</u>	<u>TNC</u>	<u>SJC</u>
Mon.	8-30	34 col	$\frac{1}{2}$ col.	30 col	1 col	42 col	$1\frac{3}{4}$ col	54 col	$3\frac{1}{2}$	50	$1\frac{1}{2}$
	8-31	36	$\frac{1}{2}$ ##	20	0	52	$1\frac{1}{2}$	61	3	56	$1\frac{1}{2}$
	9-1	33	0	$34\frac{1}{4}$	0	38	$1\frac{1}{2}$	50	$2\frac{1}{2}$	57	1
	9-2	$38\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{1}{4}$ ###	32 (?)	0	37	1	71	3	63	1
	9-3	$36\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	32 (?)	0	45	$\frac{1}{2}$	68	1	55	1
Sat.	9-4	35	0	32 (?)	0	42	0	70	$1\frac{1}{2}$	61	1

Figures for daily circulation in the Borough of the Bronx, supplied by the newspapers themselves, as of 1942 or 1943. They are supported, in the cases of the Mirror and Journal American, by the ABE circulation analysis for 1940 as given in the Editor and Publisher of August 23, 1941, p.20 (vol. 74, no. 34).

Two columns of editorial comment which appeared in this issue upon the appeal of the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, are not included. See the New York Times of August 30 for this appeal, which appeared as an advertisement display.

Two columns were devoted to an exposé of prostitution conditions at Tel Aviv in Palestine.

Table B

Relative amount of Zionist and Palestinian news for a normal week selected at random.

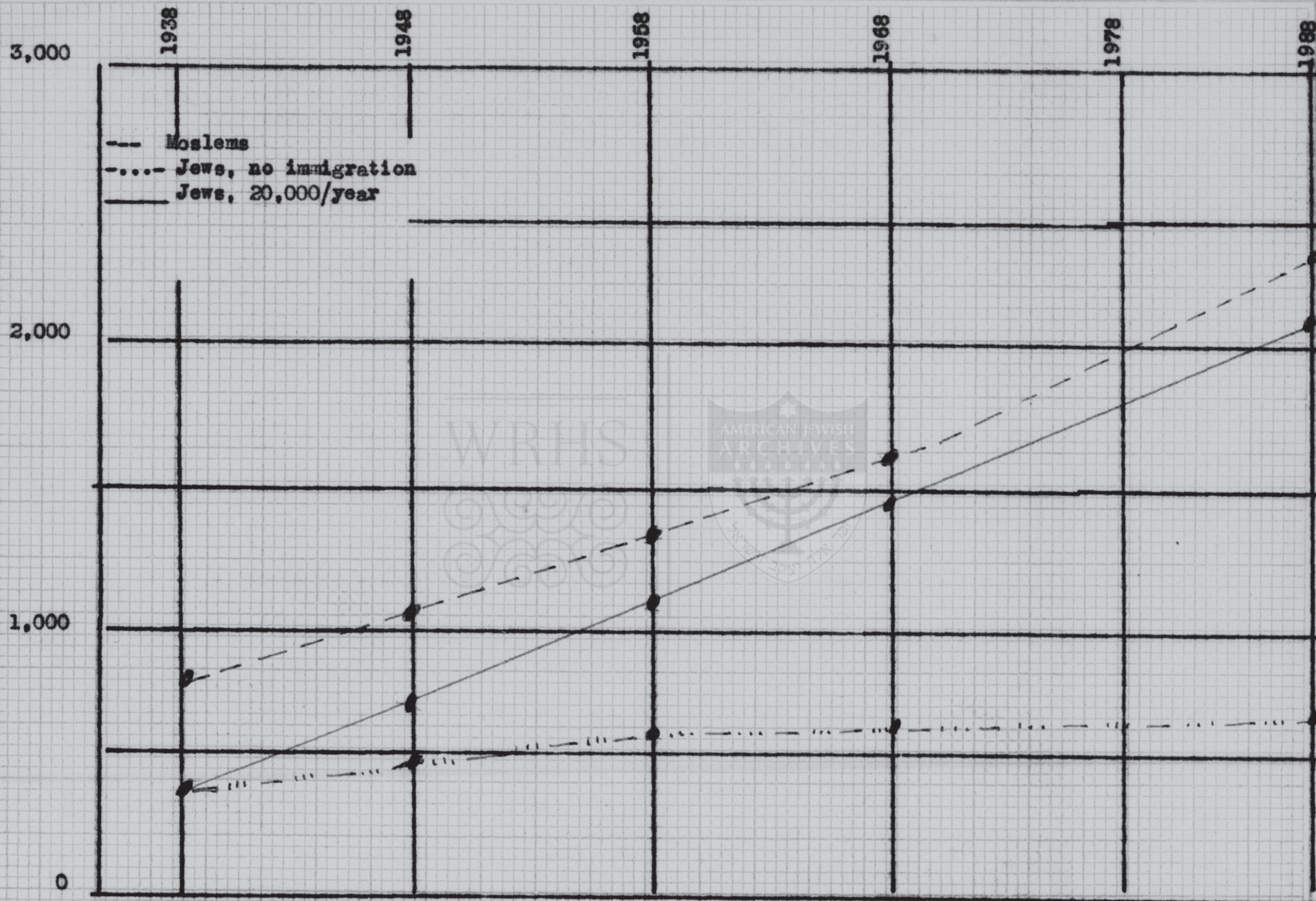
Week of May 30-June 5; Four New York Morning Papers.

Outstanding internal and foreign matters were: coal strike; J.E. Davies' return from Moscow: Argentine coup. Congress was in session.

		Daily News		Mirror		N.Y. Times		Herald Trib.	
		Gen. Pol.	Zion	Gen. Pol.	Zion	Gen. Pol.	Zion.	Gen. Pol.	Zion.
Sun.	5-30	13 $\frac{1}{2}$ col.	0	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	86 col.	1	58	0
	5-31	12 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	11	0	13	0	24	0
	6-1	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	11	0	27	0	23	0
	6-2	16 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	13	0	25	0	21	0
	6-3	15 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	10 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	25	0	25	0
	6-4	15 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	11 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	33	1	30	0
	6-5	17 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	11	0	28	1/8	21	0

In this tabulation are included only the columns of foreign and domestic political news, with editorial and other forms of political comment. Omitted are picture pages when entire; cartoons and funnies; sports pages; society news; all advertising; stock reports and trade news; obituaries; military movement and battles; war communiques; murders, etc.

APPENDIX II



Predicted population of Moslems and Jews in Palestine, an Assumption that 1931 Fertility Rates will persist. The graph is based upon the figures in Rita Hinden's study of "Fertility & Mortality of the Population of Palestine," Sociological Review, XXXII (1940), pp. 29-49.